words together and persuade me. I don't even remember it any more; most of it's already forgotten.

Even the example of Phidias fails to impress, if it is not accompanied by the fine dress and elegant speech that distinguish the successful rhetorician. The desire to produce a lasting masterwork has herein been wholly eclipsed by Lucian's more proximate goal, wide public acclaim; and as soon as Paideia holds out this glittering prize the contest is swiftly decided in her favor. As a result we have Lucian the Sophist, whose works miraculously attained an immortality he had not sought and for which he dared not hope.[62]

The agon between Paideia and Hermogluphiké, then, takes place upon much the same field as other contests we have looked at herein: those between Zeus and Prometheus, between Polystratus and Lycinus, and between the two teachers of rhetoric in the *Rhetorum Praeceptor*. In each case, Lucian has framed the opposition as a debate over artistic materials and technique, contrasting hardness with softness, rigidity with fluidity, adherence to tradition with innovation. In each case, moreover, Lucian clearly aligns himself with the latter set of qualities, yet remains aware, as he makes clear in the *Prometheus Es* and the *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit*, of the price he pays for this choice: impermanence, critical disdain, exclusion from the canon. In fact he seems afraid, especially in the *Zeuxis* and the *Prometheus Es*, that the art based on παιδιά and πλαστική is in the last analysis a cheap form of καινότης, a way of pandering to the tastes of the mob; but he is too enamored of public recognition to forsake his ludic mode. As he acknowledges in the final sentence of the *Prometheus Es*, his hybrid monsters may not recommend him very highly, but they are the mode of expression he has chosen, and he is stuck with them. In the end he remains what he was as a child, a shaper of clay, not a carver of marbles.

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62. Except, perhaps, in the *Vera Historia*, where Lucian claims (albeit ironically) to be striving to leave something behind for posterity (1.4). The story of how the satirist's works were shepherded through the Dark Ages by their Byzantine admirers, and later emerged to the West to spark an ebullient revival among the Renaissance humanists, is a fascinating one, best told by Robinson (*supra* n. 32: pt. 2) and by the introductory chapter of David Cast's *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study in the Humanist Tradition* (New Haven, 1981), which cites other useful sources. Lucian would no doubt have enjoyed the thought that the humanists would one day adopt him as a standard bearer in their struggle against the rigidities of Church dogma and Scholastic philosophy, in a manner not at all unlike his own adoption of Prometheus; see Duncan (*supra* n. 44) chap. 4. In fact, to carry this irony one step further, we note that Lucian's figurines have enjoyed much greater longevity than the sculptural colossi before which he felt so humbled; Phidias's Zeus eventually perished so completely as to leave no more substantial remains than the images struck on a few Hadrianic coins (see Ludwig Drees, *Olympia: Gods, Artists, Athletes* [New York, 1968] 145–49; Josef Liegle, *Der Zeus des Phidias* [Berlin, 1952] 114–31). In the end it was the stones that yielded first to the pressures of historical change.

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Poetry and Sailing in Hesiod's *Works and Days*

THE SECTION OF *Works and Days* commonly known as the Nautilia (618–94), where the poet turns his attention from agriculture and "economics" to sailing, has both delighted and mystified students of Hesiod. The fascination that this passage elicits from all readers of the poem is easy to understand, for not only is the topic of sailing completely unexpected where it occurs, but the length of the digression is surprising in view of Hesiod's claim that he had little personal experience in the activity. Even more intriguing are the autobiographical details about his father's migration from Kyme to Ascra and his own competition at Chalcis in the funeral games for Amphidamas.

Recent critics have stressed the programmatic aspect of the autobiographical excurses. Griffith, for example, views Hesiod's father as a "negative paradigm" for Perses, in contrast to the wise man who concentrates on agriculture.[1] Others find special significance in Hesiod's seemingly gratuitous evocation of the heroic-age Greeks mustering at Aulis. Hamilton sees in these Greeks an echo of the earlier Myth of the Ages, where the Greeks of the Trojan War typify the heroic age.[2] Nagy emphasizes Hesiod's contrast between his short voyage from Aulis to

I owe thanks to several friends and colleagues for criticism and suggestions at various stages in the composition of this article. Richard Hamilton kindly showed me the final manuscript of his Hesiod monograph when I first began studying the Nautilia, and he offered numerous improvements to an early draft of this paper. I have also benefited from the careful readings of my colleague Joseph Farrell. Finally, I thank Carolyn Dewald, one of the editors of *Classical Antiquity*, and Nancy Felson Rubin, one of the referees, for their generous advice on both substantive and stylistic matters.

1. M. Griffith, "Personality in Hesiod," *ClAnt* 2 (1983) 62.
2. R. Hamilton, *The Architecture of Hesiodic Poetry* (Baltimore, 1989) 69.

Euboea and the Achaean voyage from Aulis to Troy, and suggests that the passage might reveal "an intended differentiation of Hesiodic from Homeric poetry."[3] Many have pointed out that lines 646–62 have a special unity of their own,[4] and are inordinately concerned—four full lines, 658–62—with establishing a link between Hesiod's treatment of sailing and the source of his knowledge on this subject, the Heliconian Muses.

I wish to pursue here Nagy's suggestion that Hesiod may have cryptically embedded in the verses concerned with his performance at Chalcis a comment on the nature of his own poetry. Many will surely feel uneasy at the mere thought of an Archaic poet making programmatic statements about his art in the manner of an Alexandrian poet. But the text itself, I believe, supports this claim. Hesiod's reference to the Achaeans' voyage to Troy as a contrast to his own short voyage to a poetic *agōn* in Chalcis inspired Nagy's insight.[5] Through a more detailed study of the diction and structure of the whole passage we can supplement his suggestion that lines 646–62, a passage that has come to be known as Hesiod's "sphragis,"[6] might be as concerned with poetry as they are with seafaring.

I shall argue that the Nautilia, while it offers some basic practical advice about the dangers of seafaring, simultaneously functions as a declarative program about poetry. Specifically, Hesiod contrasts his inability to compose (or lack of experience in composing) poetry on a Homeric scale with his qualifications for composing his poem of the "earth," *Works and Days*. Hesiod, of course, did make one "sea voyage," as he tells us in lines 650–55, but by his own admission it was a trivial one (οὐ γάρ πού . . . ἐπέπλων . . . εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὔβοιαν ἐξ Αὐλίδος). The overt contrast between this voyage (a trip made for a poetic performance) and that of the Achaeans on their way to Troy (Αὐλίδος, ᾗ ποτ' Ἀχαιοί . . . ἄγειραν . . . Τροίην ἐς καλλιγύναικα), if understood to reflect poetic concerns, implies that Hesiod's performance at the funeral games for Amphidamas resembled Homeric epos, but was, at best, a minor venture into the realm of heroic poetry.[7]

3. G. Nagy, "Hesiod," in *Ancient Greek Authors*, ed. T. J. Luce (New York, 1982) 66. W. Thalmann (*Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry* [Baltimore, 1984] 152–53) also finds the mention of the Achaeans at Aulis significant: "by evoking heroic saga, Hesiod is putting his own compositions . . . on the same level, placing them within the poetic tradition. And the coincidence of Aulis as his own and the Akhaians' point of departure from the Greek mainland ranks Hesiod's exploit with the Trojan War and gives him something of the aura of the epic hero." This underplays, however, the distinct *contrast* that Hesiod is at pains to emphasize between his sailing (practically a non-event) and the sailing of the Homeric Greeks.

4. W. Nicolai (*Hesiods Erga* [Heidelberg, 1964] 126–27) reads 631–62 as one unit, but cf. Hamilton (above, n. 2: 68) on the rhetorical markers that divide the passages. M. L. West (*Hesiod. Works and Days* [Oxford, 1978; hereafter cited as West] 55) suggests that 646–62 were originally composed as an alternative opening to the Nautilia.

5. "There is a built-in antithesis here with the long sea voyage undertaken by the Achaeans when they sailed to Troy. . . . Moreover, the strong Homeric emphasis on navigation as a key to the Achaeans' survival (for example, *Il.* 16.80–82) is in sharp contrast with the strong Hesiodic emphasis on the poet's personal inexperience in navigation." (Nagy [above, n. 3] 66).

6. The term was first used by Nicolai (above, n. 4: 123–32), though he would have the sphragis include the verses about Hesiod's father, i.e., 631–62. Thalmann, (above, n. 3: 195 n. 66) finds "sphragis" a "dangerously pseudotechnical term"; I retain it here, nevertheless, partly for convenience, but also because it emphasizes just how unusual the autobiographical element of the passage is in its context.

The structure of the Nautilia is tripartite, with two sections on sailing, lines 618–45 and 663–94, enclosing a central section, lines 646–62, the sphragis, in which Hesiod digresses about his own experience in sailing and his poetic charge from the Muses.[8] Clues within the sphragis that Hesiod is using sailing as a metaphor clarify several peculiar elements in the first and third sections.

In line 648, near the beginning of the sphragis, Hesiod says: δείξω δή τοι μέτρα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.[9] West notes that here "μέτρα is loosely used of the rules and formulae known to the expert" (distinct from its other common use to refer specifically to quantity, i.e., a "measure"). It is apparent from the parallels quoted by West that in Archaic poetry the man who could discuss the μέτρα of something was a man who possessed σοφία in that sphere of activity. Solon 13.52, Stesichorus S 89.7f Page, and Theognis 876,[10] in particular, mention μέτρον in conjunction with σοφία. Solon and Theognis, moreover, speak specifically of the poet who knows (poetic) μέτρα.[11] This connection between μέτρα and σοφία makes it all the more unusual that in line 649, after having just claimed that he will discuss the μέτρα of the sea, Hesiod adds that he has, in fact, no σοφία about the subject: οὔτέ τι ναυτιλίης σεσοφισμένος οὔτέ τι νηῶν. Nevertheless, Hesiod will proceed to explain the "μέτρα of the sea" (which he has already begun in the first section, 619–40), and it soon becomes apparent that whatever σοφία he possesses about sailing ultimately comes from the Heliconian Muses, in lines 658–60.[12] His claim in lines 648–49 that he will expound on matters requiring σοφία, even though he lacks it, imparts a distinct irony to the passage, and suggests that the σοφία of sailing that he has in mind is not merely a technical skill. In fact, as others have amply demonstrated, σοφία and its cognate forms, though originally associ-

7. We are not told exactly what type of poem Hesiod performed at Chalcis; ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα says little about its content (cf. West *ad loc.*, 321). West (321; and *Hesiod: Theogony* [Oxford, 1966] 44–46) suggests that Hesiod performed the *Theogony* there, or a version of it. If sailing does, in fact, have metaphorical significance in this passage, the emphasis on his short voyage to Chalcis would support this contention well.

8. On the controversy over the structural divisions of the Nautilia, cf. Hamilton (above, n. 2) 67.

9. Note the verse end πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, which has distinct associations with the *Iliad* (occurring there six times).

10. Cf. L. Edmunds, "The Genre of Theognidean Poetry," in *Theognis of Megara*, ed. T. J. Figueira and G. Nagy (Baltimore, 1985; hereafter cited as Figueira/Nagy) 104–5.

11. Solon 13.51–52: ἄλλος Ὀλυμπιάδων Μουσέων πάρα δῶρα διδαχθείς / ἵμερτης σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος. Theognis at 876 adopts the role of the poet who "has the measure of σοφίη": μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης.

12. Note Ibycus, *PMG* 282.23–24, which has σοφίζομαι of the Heliconian Muses as dispensers of poetic knowledge: καὶ τὰ μὲ[ν ἀν] Μοίσαι σεσοφι[σ]μέναι / εὖ Ἑλικωνίδ[ες] ἔμβαιν λόγο[ι]. In 659 Hesiod uses the same verb as Ibycus, ἐμβαίνω, to describe the transmission of this σοφία by the Muses to the poet. On 659, see below.

ated with artisanry and manual expertise, in Archaic poetry commonly referred to poetic skill.[13] With the participle σεσοφισμένος in line 649, therefore, Hesiod claims on another level a *poetic* inability to sing of sailing,[14] that is, he is not skilled in the type of poetry that deals with such affairs.

As the passage continues, it becomes even clearer that Hesiod is playing with the semantics of σοφία. With the clause beginning εἰ μή in line 651 he reconsiders his qualifications to speak of sailing, and suggests that perhaps his voyage to Aulis might count as sufficient σοφία; syntactically we are still in the same period that includes his denial of σοφία. As commentators have often noted, for Hesiod to claim that such a voyage would give him σοφία about sailing is absurd; yet this very absurdity suggests that we are to understand his claim as metaphorical. Furthermore, Hesiod's claim to σοφία in sailing introduces a twelve-line digression that juxtaposes his own voyage with that of the Homeric Greeks and culminates in a reassertion of the divine source of his poetic inspiration. This digression removes us from the realm of practical advice and compels us to focus on the poet's authority as a singer rather than as an expert on sailing. Line 660 illustrates this in a striking manner: τόσσόν τοι νηῶν γε πεπείρημαι πολυγόμφων. The τόσσον refers specifically to Hesiod's brief voyage to Euboea, last mentioned in verse 655. Four intervening lines amplify and describe what happened there: they

13. Cf. West *ad* 649, p. 319; B. Gladigow, *Sophia und Kosmos: Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte von* ΣΟΦΟΣ *und* ΣΟΦΗ, Spudasmata 1 (Hildesheim, 1965) 9–15; G. Gianotti, *Per una poetica pindarica* (Turin, 1975) 85–98. Note esp. Theognis 19–20, Κύρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω / τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν; with G. Nagy, "Theognis and Megara: A Poet's Vision of His City," in Figueira/Nagy 29–30; and Edmunds (above, n. 10) 100–101, who cites appropriately Theognis 769–72 on the importance of disseminating poetic σοφία:

> χρὴ Μουσῶν θεράποντα καὶ ἄγγελον, εἴ τι περισσὸν
> εἰδείη, σοφίης μὴ φθονερὸν τελέθειν,
> ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα δὲ ποιεῖν.
> τί σφιν χρήσηται μοῦνος ἐπιστάμενος;

The meaning of line 771 is controversial; see A. Ford, "The Seal of Theognis," in Figueira/Nagy 93; Edmunds 107–9. The exhortation for the poet to "display [δεικνύναι] some things" is precisely what Hesiod claimed to do in 648 (δείξω . . . μέτρα). The display of Theognis, however, is a function of his poetic σοφία, whereas Hesiod offers a display in spite of his lack of σοφία (649).

The phrase Μουσῶν θεράποντα in 769 above may or may not allude to Hesiod himself (*Th.* 100), but it certainly illustrates that each poet viewed his relationship with the Muses similarly; cf. G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore, 1979) 304–7. All references to Theognis are from M. L. West, Iambi et Elegi Graeci (Oxford) vol. II.

14. This participle, σεσοφισμένος, is usually taken to refer simply to the expertise of a sailor. While I would not deny this literal meaning, Hesiod's later emphasis (at the end of the sphragis) on the Heliconian Muses as the source of his poetic σοφία makes a connection with poetry likely for σεσοφισμένος. This interpretation would make σεσοφισμένος the earliest attested example of a σοφ- word referring to poetic skill (*contra* Edmunds [above, n. 10] 101). Such a concept is not out of place in Hesiod, for the references to poetic initiation at *Th.* 26–35 and *WD* 662, with their emphasis on the transference of poetic knowledge from the Muses to the poet, certainly imply the existence of a "skill" of divine origin.

stress that he competed in a poetic competition, won with a ὕμνος,[15] took away the tripod, and dedicated it to the Heliconian Muses (655–60):

> Χαλκίδα τ' εἰς ἐπέρησα· τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα πολλά
> ἆθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες μεγαλήτορος· ἔνθά μέ φημι
> ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα.
> τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ Μούσῃς Ἑλικωνιάδεσσ' ἀνέθηκα,
> ἔνθά με τὸ πρῶτον λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς.
> τόσσόν τοι νηῶν γε πεπείρημαι πολυγόμφων.

By the time the audience hears the τόσσον, the focus has shifted from a sea voyage to poetic competition and poetic inspiration. The τόσσον, therefore—"*such* is my experience of ships that have many nails"—has an intimate connection with these poetic topics, and reinforces their connection with sailing.[16]

The opening section of practical nautical advice (618–45) just before the sphragis prepares the audience for this shift from the literal to the metaphorical in the account of Hesiod's own sea voyage. Indeed the opening line itself of the Nautilia, line 618, reveals considerations other than literal sailing: εἰ δέ σε ναυτιλίης δυσπεμφέλου ἵμερος αἱρεῖ. The phrase "if desire/impulse for 'ill-tempered' sailing seizes you" is unusual in this context, since someone who undertakes sailing—certainly the man to whom Hesiod offers his advice—would not act upon a sudden impulse. Furthermore, the semantics of ἵμερος connote almost exclusively a desire that springs from passion, emotion, or irrationality, and it is always used of a desire for something that will ultimately bring pleasure.[17] At *Theogony* 64 Hesiod himself makes Himeros (along with the Charites) a companion to the Muses, giving him a distinct esthetic aspect: πὰρ δ' αὐτῇς Χάριτές τε καὶ Ἵμερος οἰκί' ἔχουσιν / ἐν θαλίῃς. At *Theogony* 201, Himeros (with Eros) follows closely after Aphrodite. It is, therefore, practically an oxymoron to speak of a ἵμερος (a positive, esthetic concept) for something δυσπέμφελος.[18] Insofar as line 618 marks a new and digressive section of the poem, the expression ἵμερος αἱρεῖ must surely be more than a mere *façon de parler* (one that would be unparalleled in any event) for the bland idea "whenever you want." Rather it stresses, if somewhat paradoxically, a passionate, virtually hedonistic, desire to engage in the activity.[19]

15. On this term, cf. above, n. 6.

16. πολυγόμφων may even be employed specifically as an epithet appropriate to the style of heroic poetry, i.e., "much-nailed" = "monumental," "manifold." Note that it is not a Homeric formula, occurring here for the first time; cf. also Ibycus, *PMG* 282.17.

17. Hence the Homeric epithet γλυκύς (*Il.* 3.46). Homer frequently uses ἵμερος with γόος and οἶτος, e.g., *Il.* 23.14, 11.89; note also *Od.* 1.421, ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν.

18. All the other forms of the word in Hesiod (including *Sc.* and the fragments) also have a distinct esthetic aspect to them; cf. ἱμείρω, *Th.* 177; ἱμερόεις, *Th.* 8, 104, 359, 919; ἱμερτός, *Th.* 577. ἵμερος is also frequently associated with specifically erotic desire; cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.328, Pind. *O.* 1.41, Aesch. *PV* 649, Soph. *Tr.* 476, Eur. *Med.* 556.

19. An esthetic dimension to sailing is evident at Hom. *Od.* 8.246–53, where we first find the

Lines 646–47 further highlight this paradox by identifying poverty and hunger as motivations for sailing:

εἶτ' ἄν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν
βούληαι χρέα τε προφυγεῖν καὶ λιμὸν ἀτερπέα.

With these verses Hesiod repeats the basic sentiment of line 618 (εἰ δέ σε ναυτιλίης δυσπεμφέλου ἵμερος αἱρεῖ· / εἶτ' ἄν . . .) and rhetorically marks the new section, the sphragis. Subtly, yet smoothly, the notion of ἵμερος in line 618 merges with the desire to flee χρέος and λιμός in line 647: these afflictions engender and stimulate one's ἵμερος to sail.[20] The paradox arising from this association—the need to flee indigence as the inspiration of an esthetically tinged ἵμερος—is resolved only in the sphragis, where Hesiod equates the motivation for literal sailing with his own motivation for sailing in the metaphorical sense. Here the motivation for sailing—avoiding poverty and hunger—also parallels one's poetic drive, the "need" to compose poetry, which in turn excites one's poetic ἵμερος. For Hesiod, the preferred way of avoiding poverty and hunger on the literal level is to work the land. Others, who fail at this, may be forced to take the more risky path of seafaring. On the metaphorical level, singers too are driven to compose by a need for poetic activity; some will fail at the type of poetry Hesiod composes, but the alternative—more grandiose, heroic poetry—is, like genuine seafaring, a dangerous enterprise.[21]

noun ναυτιλίη (its only occurrence in Homer; the verbal form ναυτίλλομαι occurs at *Od.* 4.672, 14.246). In this passage Alcinoös explains to Odysseus the hedonistic/agonistic ethos of the Phaeacian people. The Phaeacians' particular expertise at running and seafaring is mentioned twice (247, 253), and each time Alcinoös also mentions the Phaeacian love of dance and poetic song (κίθαρίς . . . χοροί, 248; ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῇ, 253). This melding of the athletic with the esthetic is especially prominent in 253, where the distinctly chiastic form of ναυτιλίῃ καὶ ποσσὶ καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῇ encourages us to hear the verse as one sense unit, rather than simply as a sequential list of activities, "sailing, running, dance, and song." The juxtaposition of ποσσί and ὀρχηστυῖ forms the center of the verse and is bracketed by ναυτιλίῃ and ἀοιδῇ, while a connection between these two elements, sailing and song, is emphasized both by word position and homoioteleuton. Thus the ναυτιλίη in which the Phaeacians excel emerges as more a sport than a commercial enterprise (as its association with running indicates, 247, 253) and its formal coupling here with ἀοιδή in a context concerned with poetic song (note the verse immediately following, Αἰμοδόκῳ δέ τις αἶψα κιὼν φόρμιγγα λίγειαν / οἴσετο, 255) was probably not lost on Hesiod.

20. Poverty, material need, and hunger, of course, motivate not only sailing in *WD*, but all "work." At 496–501, for example, it is the ἀεργός man who suffers ἀμηχανίη and πενίη and who "lacks livelihood" (χρηίζων βιότου), i.e., the man who pays no heed to Hesiod's injunctions to work the land properly (cf. also 394–404, *contra Persem*). Insofar as sailing for Hesiod represents an alternative to agriculture, it also represents an alternative way to avoid poverty and hunger. Cf. Nagy, "Theognis" (above, n. 13) 64–65. Pindar too associates his poetic activity on one level with an attempt to avoid hunger at *I.* 1.45–52. On the metaphorical "thirsting" (δίψα) for song in Pindar, cf. E. L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 1, University of California Publications in Classical Philology 18 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962) 10. Note especially *N.* 3.6–7, where the thirst for song (διψάω) is equated with the positive, affective verb φιλέω.

21. Hesiod's injunctions toward the close of the Nautilia (687–94), when read metaphorically, make this point eloquently. The poet here advises the person contemplating sailing not to put one's

The peculiar section about Hesiod's father (633–40), which immediately precedes the sphragis, anticipates this reading. This passage illustrates to Perses what circumstances drive a man to sea: "if a passion for sailing seizes you [618] . . . do the following things [619–32] . . . ὥς περ ἐμός τε πατὴρ καὶ σὸς μέγα νήπιε Πέρση." Hesiod states explicitly that his father had no ἄφενος, πλοῦτος, or ὄλβος (637), and kept on sailing (note iterative πλώζεσκ') because he lacked livelihood (βίου κεχρημένος ἐσθλοῦ, (634), fleeing "evil poverty" (κακὴν πενίην, 638). By emphasizing his father's poverty as a cause for frequent sailing, Hesiod implies that his father was unsuccessful at agriculture, the preferred method of making a living.

The detail of lines 639–40, however, has perennially puzzled readers:

νάσσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἑλικῶνος ὀιζυρῇ ἐνὶ κώμῃ,
Ἄσκρῃ, χείμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῇ.

Commentators frequently point out that Ascra, in fact, is hardly the wholly wretched locale that Hesiod would have us believe it to be.[22] Rather than impute a topographical gaffe to Hesiod, it is most sensible to view the passage as a reflection of the subjective point of view of Hesiod's father, rather than of Hesiod himself.[23] In some sense, that is, although Hesiod's father tried to flee poverty by taking to the seas, he was as miserable when he settled in Ascra as he was in Kyme. When Hesiod mentions that his father chose a place "near Helicon" (639),[24] there can be little doubt that he wishes to contrast his father's misery there with his own (poetic) success.

For Hesiod, of course, the essence of success or failure in sailing, as in agriculture, is observing τὸ ὡραῖον "seasonableness" (617, 630, 642, 665); one should not sail until the proper season, just as one should perform the various agricultural tasks enjoined in the poem only under the proper seasonal and/or meteorological

entire livelihood into the ship (μηδ' ἐν νηυσὶν ἅπαντα βίον κοίλῃσι τίθεσθαι, 689), but to leave behind the greater amount (ἀλλὰ πλέω λείπειν, τὰ δὲ μείονα φορτίζεσθαι, 690). The sailor who ensures against a total material disaster at sea by staking only a moderate amount of βίος on one sea voyage is analogous to the poet who avoids the artistic dangers of heroic poetry by composing in a less ambitious genre (where the poet's βίος is his poetic material).

22. E.g., P. Wallace, "Hesiod and the Valley of the Muses," *GRBS* 15 (1974) 8; R. Lamberton (*Hesiod* [New Haven, 1988] 29–30) points out that in midsummer Ascra can in fact be an awful place, but Hesiod's strong exaggeration (οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῇ) is still remarkable. As Lamberton himself notes (31), "Hesiod's carping irony about his village is a function of his poetic persona and not of any specific location."

23. As Hamilton implies (above, n. 2: 68): "To Hesiod's father Helicon is a terrible place while to Hesiod it is the home of his teachers, the Muses."

24. The appearance of Helicon in any Hesiodic context has poetic associations. Of its six Hesiodic occurrences, four are in the proem of *Theogony*, where they describe the haunts of the Muses (1, 2, 7) and the locale of Hesiod's poetic initiation (23). The other two occur in the autobiographical section of the Nautilia, nineteen lines apart, in the reference to Hesiod's father (639) and in the sphragis (658), which almost certainly echoes *Th.* 23.

conditions. In line 641 Hesiod abruptly turns from his father's hard lot at Ascra to general advice for Perses: τύνη δ', ὦ Πέρση, ἔργων μεμνημένος εἶναι / ὡραίων πάντων, περὶ ναυτιλίης δὲ μάλιστα. The direct contrast (τύνη δ') with their father ("don't do as our father did") implies that he failed at both sailing and agriculture because of his ignorance of τὸ ὡραῖον. Hesiod's success, however, where his father had failed, at Heliconian Ascra (658–59), highlights his own adherence to τὸ ὡραῖον and pairs the father and son as a negative and positive exemplum. When Hesiod links his trivial sailing experience to his success in poetry (660–62), we are again encouraged to understand it metaphorically: "My father engaged in sailing for material purposes, but failed because of his ignorance of τὸ ὡραῖον. I, too, took a sea voyage of sorts once, but it was for poetic purposes (to compete in the funeral games of Amphidamas). My voyage, however, though short, is emblematic of my attention to τὸ ὡραῖον in my own field of 'work,' namely song, and I was eminently successful." Just as the man who takes to the sea is driven by poverty and hunger (647), like Hesiod's father (637–38), so the "poverty" and "hunger" that motivate the poet's metaphorical sailing refer to the inspiration he receives from the Muses (658–62). But such inspiration, Hesiod implies, can only be successfully realized in song by adherence to poetic ὡραῖον.

A well-known passage in the programmatic opening of *Works and Days* lends support to this argument for the use of poverty, hunger, and material need as metaphorical representations of poetic drive or inspiration. In lines 20–26, as we noted earlier, all ἔργον is motivated by the desire to avoid just such ills and to acquire material substance. Such is the operation of the good Eris in the world (20–26):

ἥ τε καὶ ἀπάλαμόν περ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν.
εἰς ἕτερον γάρ τίς τε ἰδὼν ἔργοιο χατίζων
πλούσιον, ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρώμεναι ἠδὲ φυτεύειν
οἰκόν τ' εὖ θέσθαι, ζηλοῖ δέ τε γείτονα γείτων
εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντ'· ἀγαθὴ δ' Ἔρις ἥδε βροτοῖσιν.
καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

Many have suspected that the collocation of "beggar vying with beggar" and "singer vying with singer" in the last line (26)—a line that serves as the rhetorical climax to the whole passage—has special significance.[25] The example of a beggar in this context, to be sure, must seem unexpected and out of place to any audience, since it is not really a "profession" in the same sense as the potter or carpenter mentioned in the preceding verse. The image of one beggar competing with another to be a "more successful" beggar can only be ironic, since beggary is a condition that Hesiod cautions Perses to avoid (e.g., *WD* 394–96); it is hardly an appropriate example of a competitive profession. The professional status of the ἀοιδός also differs from the potter's and the carpenter's: his "product"—song—is not tactile or even visible. The singer is more closely allied with the beggar than with the potter or carpenter, since the beggar too must rely on words and persuasion rather than on any material product. The irony, of course, of this connection between the beggar and the singer is that Hesiod *qua* singer casts himself as a beggar of sorts.[26] There is no doubt a touch of self-deprecating humor in this passage, but it also implies that, as with the "professional" beggar, the lot of the singer is to be in some sense perennially "impoverished."[27]

When poverty in the Nautilia is understood metaphorically, success in poetry becomes a function of how well one has overcome this condition, which in turn reflects the quality and effectiveness of one's source of inspiration. It is appropriate, therefore, that within the agricultural cycle of the year, the time when the farmer should himself engage in esthetic pleasures (including poetry) is in the heat of the summer, when there is little he can do with the land anyway, and when, it is assumed, he has already amassed a sufficient amount of βίος.[28] This special time of relaxation is introduced in line 582:

ἦμος δὲ σκόλυμός τ' ἀνθεῖ καὶ ἠχέτα τέττιξ
δενδρέῳ ἐφεζόμενος λιγυρὴν καταχεύετ' ἀοιδήν
πυκνὸν ὑπὸ πτερύγων θέρεος καματώδεος ὥρῃ,
. . . . . .
ἐπὶ δ'αἴθοπα πινέμεν οἶνον 592
ἐν σκιῇ ἑζόμενον, κεκορημένον ἦτορ ἐδωδῆς,
ἀντίον ἀκραέος Ζεφύρου τρέψαντα πρόσωπα·
κρήνης δ' αἰενάου καὶ ἀπορρύτου, ἥ τ' ἀθόλωτος,
τρὶς ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἐμμεν οἴνου.

The period of time during which a man may leave off his work is marked by the cicada singing in the trees. There can be little doubt that the word ἀοιδή here is intended to evoke human poetic song. First of all, as Hesiod himself is aware (584), the so-called "song" of the cicada emanates from its wings, not its mouth;

25. West 147, laconically: "it is noticeable that the singer is coupled with the beggar." For bibliography, cf. W. J. Verdenius, *A Commentary on Hesiod, Works and Days* vv. *1–382* (Leiden, 1985) 29 n. 122. Verdenius himself denies any significance to the collocation, though his reasoning is hardly persuasive: "it may be doubted whether self-irony is compatible with Hes.'s self-esteem as expressed, e.g. in *Th.* 26." The very fact that Hesiod reveals his self-esteem so emphatically (and programmatically) in 26 ff. can only enhance the irony of a passage in which poets are associated with beggars.

26. Note the "professional competition" between Odysseus (disguised as a beggar) and the beggar Iros in *Od.* 18.1–108.

27. We find the stereotype of the impoverished poet throughout Greek literature (and it survives even to this day): e.g., Theognis 351–53, 649–52, 668–70; Hipponax 42–44Dg; Aristoph. *Aves* 931–35; Crates, *Suppl. Hell.* 359.3–4; Matron, *Suppl. Hell.* 534.3. But this kind of impoverishment is here a positive state that inspires the operation of the good Eris among men, and points to the metaphorical use of poverty as poetic drive in the Nautilia. In a similar fashion J. Svenbro (*La parole et le marbre: Aux origines de la poétique grecque* [Lund, 1976] 50–59) argues that the term γαστήρ is used metaphorically in Homer (and also Hes. *Th.* 26) to represent two opposite conceptions of vagabondage, the one driving a person to productivity, the other to idleness.

28. Hamilton (above, n. 2: 68) notes the connection between βίος (ἄφενος, ὄλβος, etc.) and the ability to sing.

to apply the word ἀοιδή to this sort of noise (however mellifluous) can only be done figuratively. It is, moreover, a word intimately associated with the Muses throughout the proem of *Theogony* and in the opening line of *Works and Days*,[29] and Hesiod's audience would no doubt have known its programmatic significance in the hexameter tradition.[30]

That the image of an ἠχέτα τέττιξ pouring out its λιγυρὴ ἀοιδή must be seen as an *ainos*[31] emerges clearly when it is juxtaposed with the autobiographical verse that occurs in the Nautilia at line 659. There the Muses set Hesiod on the path of "clear, sweet song" (ἔνθά με τὸ πρῶτον λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς); the same adjective and noun occur in the same metrical position in the phrase applying to the cicada (λιγυρὴν καταχεύετ' ἀοιδήν).[32] Five lines later a virtual repetition of the second hemistich of 584 recalls the cicada passage:

ἐς τέλος ἐλθόντος θέρεος, καματώδεος ὥρης (664)

πυκνὸν ὑπὸ πτερύγων θέρεος καματώδεος ὥρῃ. (584)

Moreover, line 664 gives the appropriate time for sailing (cf. 665, ὡραῖος . . . πλόος) as that very time, described in lines 582–96, when the cicada sings and men relax and turn to esthetic pleasures.[33] In the earlier passage, men are told to relax during the heat of summer; in this passage if they want to sail they should do so.

Linking all these passages strengthens the power of the sailing-poetry metaphor of the sphragis. Line 659, with its reference to a λιγυρὴ . . . ἀοιδή in a context of poetic initiation, alludes to the singing cicada and allows us to identify the cicada with the poet; line 664, which heralds the time for sailing, as we have noted, also echoes that passage (cf. 584) and recalls the cicada's song.[34] In other words, at the same time as the farmer (the Hesiodic poet) sings a song in the heat of the summer—a song representing the successful defeat of poverty, and hence success at poetry—the sailor (the poet of heroic epos) embarks upon a poetic course the success of which is not as yet assured. For the farmer, this season practically guarantees success in poetry, since he has behind him a year's worth of hard work and substance. The man who sails out of season, however, either

29. Cf. *Th.* 22, 44, 48, 60, 104; *WD* 1.

30. Cf., e.g., Hom. *Od.* 8.43–45, 62–64.

31. In the self-consciously related *ainos* of 202–12 (νῦν δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσ' ἐρέω, φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς, 202), Hesiod had referred to a nightingale as an ἀοιδός (208). Theognis too adopts the image of the poet as nightingale in 939, οὐ δύναμαι φωνῇ λίγ' ἀειδέμεν ὥσπερ ἀηδών. For other references, cf. C. Calame, *Alcman* (Rome, 1983) 615, on his fr. 224.

32. Hesiod marks further a connection between the activity of the cicada and human activity with 593, where the man relaxing in the summer drinks wine while sitting in the shade (ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα πινέμεν οἶνον / ἐν σκιῇ ἑζόμενον). Here ἑζόμενον stands in the same *sedes* as (ἐφ)ἑζόμενος used of the cicada ten lines earlier (583).

33. West (323 *ad* 665) notes the connection.

34. Callimachus too found in the cicada an appropriate metaphor for a poet: ἐνὶ τοῖς γὰρ ἀείδομεν οἱ λιγὺν ἦχον / [τέττιγος, θ]όρυβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄναν (fr. 1.29–30 Pf.)

has failed at farming, or (unwisely) chooses to ignore agriculture altogether, staking what few goods he possesses on maritime commerce. He is still in the process, in other words, of trying to overcome poverty, of seeking, on the level of metaphor, his poetic voice.

Once we accept that the cicada stands as an *ainos* for the Hesiodic poet, moreover, the expression ἀοιδὴν / πυκνὸν ὑπὸ πτερύγων easily refers to the quality of the song rather than merely to the frequency of stridulation from under the wings, and the notion of a "dense," "compact" song is best understood esthetically, as appropriate to the song of the human ἀοιδός.[35] Only forty verses later, in the Nautilia, Hesiod gives the following advice about ships: νῆα δ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου ἐρύσαι πυκάσαι τε λίθοισιν / . . . εὐκόσμως στολίσας νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο (624–28). Hesiod here continues the poetic commentary that lies beneath the *ainos* of the cicada passage. The advice to "pack up one's ships with stones" and to "stow the wings of one's ship in good order" (εὐκόσμως—an esthetic word) is easily read as veiled poetic advice: don't begin with epic poetry ("stow the wings of one's ship"); compose more "compactly" (as in πυκνόν), for example Hesiodic poetry; wait for the proper time (ὡραῖον . . . πλόον, 630; also 642, 665), that is, until one has the appropriate poetic inspiration and technical training.

Theognis 237–50 offers a vivid Archaic example of the metaphorical use of πτερά in the context of poetry. In his quest for Panhellenic acceptance,[36] Theognis speaks of his poetry as giving wings to his addressee, Kyrnos, and thus bringing them both undying κλέος:

σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον
πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος
ῥηϊδίως· θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσῃ
ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν,
καί σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες
εὐκόσμως ἐρατοὶ καλά τε καὶ λιγέα
ᾄσονται. καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
βῇς πολυκωκύτους εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους,
οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολεῖς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις
ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα
Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφώμενος ἠδ' ἀνὰ νήσους
ἰχθυόεντα περῶν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,
οὐχ, ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, ἀλλά σε πέμψει
ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων.

35. The adjective πυκνός was later incorporated into the language of Greek musical theory, occurring first in such a context in Plato, *Rep.* 531a. The adjective seems originally to have referred simply to a "narrow" or "compressed" interval, though by the time of Aristoxenos it developed a more technical application to the disposition of the first three notes of a tetrachord; cf. T. Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus: On Music* (New Haven, 1983) 79 n. 66. Though it seems unlikely that πυκνός would have had a specifically technical connotation as early as Hesiod, its later use in musical theory, insofar as it developed from a common, nontechnical usage, can help us understand its nuance in Hesiod.

36. Nagy, "Theognis" (above, n. 13) 34–35.

The poet includes in these verses unambiguous esthetic commentary and employs a vocabulary that recalls Hesiod on several counts. Compare Theognis's association of λιγύς (241–42) with song to Hesiod's similar use of the adjective (the cicada with its λιγυρὴ ἀοιδή, emanating from under its πτέρυγες, 583–84; Hesiod's initiation into λιγυρὴ ἀοιδή by the Muses, 659).[37] Theognis's use of εὐκόσμως with the verb of singing resembles Hesiod's εὐκόσμως στολίσας νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο (628). Finally, Theognis connects the "gifts of the Muses" (poetry) and the metaphorical flight over the seas (i.e., Kyrnos travels like a bird),[38] but the diction is that of seafaring (ἰχθυόεντα περῶν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον).[39]

Another passage in the Nautilia that has relevance for the metaphorical interpretation of sailing is found in lines 678–84, where Hesiod notes an alternative time to sail:

ἄλλος δ' εἰαρινὸς πέλεται πλόος ἀνθρώποισιν·
ἦμος δὴ τὸ πρῶτον, ὅσον τ' ἐπιβᾶσα κορώνη
ἴχνος ἐποίησεν, τόσσον πέταλ' ἀνδρὶ φανήῃ
ἐν κράδῃ ἀκροτάτῃ, τότε δ' ἄμβατός ἐστι θάλασσα·
εἰαρινὸς δ' οὗτος πέλεται πλόος. οὔ μιν ἔγωγε
αἴνημ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐμῷ θυμῷ κεχαρισμένος ἐστίν·
ἁρπακτός·

The detail of the crow's track in lines 678–84, if noted at all, is usually regarded as a piece of quaint folk wisdom, but it is probably more significant. Note the repeated form of the compound of βαίνω in lines 679 and 681: "when the crow first 'sets out' [ἐπιβᾶσα] and makes his track . . . then the θάλασσα is ἄμβατος." The verb ἐπιβαίνω (ἐπέβησαν) had just been used transitively in line 659 to describe the Muses "setting Hesiod on the road to sweet song" (same *sedes*, . . . ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς).[40] Once we have connected the crow's footstep with the "embarkable sea," it is easy to suppose that the crow's footstep itself and the leaves of the fig tree present yet another *ainos*. A precise explanation of the *ainos* is elusive, but it is likely that the crow represents a bad poet (as we find it used later in Pindar, *O.* 2.86, with Σ [κόρακες], and *Nem.* 3.82 [κολοιοί]), that ἐποίησεν refers to the activity of composing poetry,[41] and that the ἴχνος is the poetry itself of the crow-poet.

37. For the association of λιγύς with song, cf. Calame (above, n. 31) 350, on Alcman fr. 4 (= *PMG* fr. 14a); note also Plato, *Phaedr.* 230c, 237a.

38. Birds are frequently found in Archaic poetry as metaphors for the poet: e.g., Bacchyl. 5.16–30; Pind. *O.* 2.86, *N.* 3.80–82; cf. also Alcman frr. 90, 91, 140 Calame (= *PMG* frr. 26, 39, 40).

39. Note also Theognis 969–70, where the poet speaks of himself metaphorically as a ship: ἔφθην αἰνήσας πρὶν σοῦ κατὰ πάντα δαῆναι / ἦθεα. νῦν δ' ἤδη νηῦς ἅθ' ἑκὰς διέχω.

40. ἐμβαίνω is also commonly used of setting out to sea; cf. J. Péron, *Les images maritimes de Pindare* (Paris, 1974) 39–43.

41. Cf. Edmunds (above, n. 10: 107–8) on ποιέω and ποίημα in Archaic poetry.

In line 747, the crow appears again in a different, but equally "folksy" and enigmatic context:

μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀνεπίξεστον καταλείπειν,
μή τοι ἐφεζομένη κρώξει λακέρυζα κορώνη.

Here his "crowing" is at issue (κρώζω), where it is implied that it brings bad luck. The detail there of the crow "sitting down" on the roof (ἐφεζομένη) recalls the cicada passage (ἠχέτα τέττιξ / δενδρέῳ ἐφεζόμενος), where that creature, we concluded, represents the Hesiodic poet. The cicada was "resonant" and "sweet-sounding" (ἠχέτα . . . λιγυρὴν καταχεύετ' ἀοιδήν); the crow is, by contrast, "screeching" (λακέρυζα).[42] We may note also that line 746 warns that the one who makes (ποιῶν) a house should not leave it "unpolished." The participle ποιῶν in conjunction with ἀνεπίξεστον, "leaving (something 'made/composed') unpolished" may very well function as an injunction against a certain poetic esthetic that Hesiod eschews.[43] Some may find it difficult to believe that an *ainos* about poetry would appear in such an odd context. But even if we take the lines literally as a statement about housebuilding, their appearance is no less gratuitous: they are situated among injunctions that warn against cutting nails at sacrifices, hanging jugs above craters, and eating or washing from pots not used for sacrifice. Rather, through a riddle of its own the passage helps to clarify (to the astute of the audience, anyway) the earlier riddle of springtime sailing.

Yet another indication that springtime sailing refers to poetry appears in lines 682–83:

εἰαρινὸς δ' οὗτος πέλεται πλόος. οὔ μιν ἔγωγε
αἴνημ'. οὐ γὰρ ἐμῷ θυμῷ κεχαρισμένος ἐστίν.

Hesiod does not recommend (lit., "praise") the springtime voyage, because, he says, it affords his θυμός no χάρις. West says: "the rest of 683 is padding; the formula ἐμ. θ. κεχ., used of people in Homer, is oddly applied to sailing time."

42. The verb λάσκω, from which λακέρυζα derives, occurs at *WD* 207, where the hawk insultingly addresses the nightingale, δαιμονίη, τί λέληκας; Note Alcman fr. 3.85–87 Calame (= *PMG* fr. 1), where the chorus deprecates its own singing by comparing itself to an owl screeching from the rafters: [ἐ]γὼν μὲν αὐτά / παρσένος μάταν ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα / γλαύξ. By contrast, when the same chorus speaks of Hagesichora's singing (96–101), her song is that of a swan: φθέγγεται δ' [..( )].[..]. [.] Ξάνθω ῥοαῖσι / κύκνος. (The construction of the last strophe is uncertain; alternatively, the chorus may liken itself rather than Hagesichora to a swan; cf. D. Page, *Alcman. The Partheneion* [Oxford, 1951] 98; D. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* [London, 1967] 211).

43. Though I can find no other passages where ποιῶν δόμον is used metaphorically for someone who composes poetry, we find a similar metaphor, involving τέκτων, attested in the fifth century: Pind. *P.* 3.113, 6.7–8, *I.* 3.4; Cratinus fr. 70KA (= Aristoph. Eq. 530). The word ἀνεπίξεστος occurs nowhere else until the fourth century A.D. (Themistius 322b); its positive form, ἐπιξέω, is nearly as rare, but it occurs twice in the *vitae* of Apollonius Rhodius, where it is used of "polishing" poetry: ἐπιξέσας αὐτοῦ τὰ ποιήματα (*Vit.* A.b Wendel); κἀκεῖ αὐτὰ ἐπιξέσαι καὶ ἀρθῶσαι (*Vit.* A.a Wendel). The programmatic notion of "polished" poetry, of course, was dear to the Roman neoteric poets; cf. Catullus 1.2.

To accuse a poet of padding is, of course, the easy way out when a line ill suits its context.

It is indeed odd for the poet to make a personal and essentially esthetic judgment about sailing. It is hardly a question of χάρις, since what Hesiod objects to is the riskiness of sailing, that it must be undertaken at a short and critical period: ἁρπακτός· χαλεπῶς κε φύγοις κακόν. Yet it is undeniable that all the words with the element -χαρι- in Hesiod embody an esthetic judgment,[44] and we should not dismiss its occurrence in line 683 as awkward padding. Hence κεχαρισμένος suggests that the spring πλόος is a poetic venture. Nagy points out that in springtime one really ought to be plowing, not sailing, in contrast to summer, when one has temporarily suspended agriculture.[45] This observation may explain how Hesiod intends the two sailing times to be understood. At each time, sailing (heroic poetry) is dangerous and inadvisable; but in the springtime it is an alternative to agriculture (Hesiodic poetry), and so all the more risky. Summertime sailing, by contrast, represents heroic poetry by one who has already achieved some success in the less grandiose medium of Hesiodic poetry, that is, poetry on the scale and scope of *Works and Days*.

The portrait of Hesiod that emerges from this interpretation of the Nautilia presupposes a degree of literary self-consciousness and gamesmanship that we normally reserve for Hellenistic poets. Yet Hesiod's interest in the nature of poetic inspiration, poetic authority, and poetic truth is undeniable,[46] and it should not surprise us to find evidence of this interest in new places; nor should it surprise us to find a Greek poet using sailing as a poetic metaphor.[47] The "auto-

44. χάρις, *Th.* 503, 583; *WD* 65, 190, 709, 720, 723. Χάριτες, *Th.* 64, 907, 946; *WD* 73. χαρίζομαι, *Th.* 580, *WD* 683; χαριείς, *Th.* 129, 247, 260.

45. Nagy, "Theognis" (above, n. 13) 64–66.

46. See P. Pucci, *Hesiod and the Language of Poetry* (Baltimore, 1977), esp. 8–44; and the remarks of Lamberton (above, n. 22) 150–51. Callimachus almost always invokes Hesiod as a model of poetic form and genre rather than of subject matter; cf. H. Reinsch-Werner, *Callimachus-Hesiodicus* (Berlin, 1976) 4–19; P. Bing, "Callimachus' Cows: A Riddling Recusatio," *ZPE* 54 (1984) 4–5. This attitude toward Hesiod may very well lie behind the last extant verses of Callimachus fr. 178 Pf., where the stranger from Ieus envies the poet for his life "ignorant of seafaring" in contrast to his own life "on the waves": τριοὶ μάκαρ, ἦ παύρων ὀλβιός ἐσσι μέτα, / ναυτιλίης εἰ νῆιν ἔχεις βίον. ἀλλ' ἐμὸς αἰών / κύμασινι αἰἰβυίης μᾶλλον ἐσῳκίσατο. If we take Callimachus here to be alluding to Hesiod's metaphorical Nautilia, other elements of the poem are more easily regarded as polemical (e.g., 15–20, on which cf. R. Scodel, "Wine, Water, and the Anthesteria in Callimachus Fr. 178 Pf., *ZPE* 39 [1980] 39 n. 9; P. Knox, "Wine, Water, and Callimachean Poetics," *HSCP* 89 [1985] 111 n. 15).

47. In post-Hesiodic poetry the metaphor was quite common: cf. Theognis 969–70 (above, n. 39); Alcman, *PMG* 1.94–95 (where the chorus likens their leader to a ship's helmsman); Pind. *N.* 5.2–3, 51–53; *P.* 10.51–54, 11.39–40; *N.* 3.26–28. At *N.* 6.29–34 Pindar even draws a contrast between sailing and agriculture as poetic modes. Among the Augustan poets the metaphor of sailing occurs frequently in poetic *recusationes:* cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.3–4; Verg. *Geor.* 2.41–46; Prop. 3.9.3, 36. The most extended treatment of the metaphor is Prop. 3.3.13–24, which is all the more striking because the poem opens with an evocation of Hesiod as Propertius's poetic mentor (1–2). In 13–24 Propertius explicitly likens the contrast between his own ("Hesiodic") poetic agenda and the more elevated heroic epic to that between an enterprising sailor on the open sea and the skittish novice who always keeps the shore in view (cf. esp. 19–24, "ut tuus *in scamno* iactetur saepe libellus, . . . / non est ingenii cumba gravanda tui. / alter remus aquas alter tibi radat harenas, / tutus eris: medio maxima turba mari est." This image is strongly reminiscent of Hesiod's contrast between the Achaeans' sea voyage to Troy and his own minor trip to Chalcis, a trip where each shore would always remain in view.

biographical" kernel of the Nautilia, the sphragis, with its effort to associate sailing with poetic competition, inspiration, and investiture, was the first indication that Hesiod's motives transcended the textual veneer of practical advice. The diction of the Nautilia and of the surrounding passages has suggested that Hesiod has turned the entire Nautilia into an αἴνιγμα that compares the poetics of *Works and Days* to the poetics of the Homeric epic. We may, in short, view the Nautilia as a pictorial triptych: two sidepanels depict the activity of sailing literally, while the central panel, the sphragis, by encouraging a metaphorical interpretation of sailing, acts as an exegetical pivot and bestows on the side panels another level of meaning.

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